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Wine Merchant.—I am astonished to hear a man of your position make a statement so notoriously inaccurate. I have read the American papers, and I see that an act has recently been passed by your Congress, removing from certain territory an ancient barrier to the extension of slavery therein.

American.—That was, however, rather a theoretical and a practical measure.

Wine Merchant.—It strikes me as highly practical, because it was a measure avowedly gratifying to the law interest. It was so intended.

the Administration; it was so received by the slaveholders; it was voted for by a majority of both Houses of Congress. Members from the Free States participating in the affirmative vote. Now, does not this show that Slavery is a National and cherished institution among you?

American.—It may wear that aspect here, where you have only a partial view of facts; but the men who brought forward the measure you allude to, were only seeking private ends. It, was in short, a bid for the presidency.

Wine Merchant—Yes; so I understand it. It was we move of politicians; but why did they thus pay court to Slavery? Because of its power; they courted the slaveholders, because they are masters of the country, its opinions, policy, patronage. If it were as you pretend, merely a local institution, you would not see resident, Senators, a whole Congress making court to it. No, Sir, it is clear that Slavery is a national establishment in the United States, and is the great power to your policy, domestic as well as Foreign. In your national elections you must have a President and

ice-President favourable to Slavery. It is to serve the cause of Slavery that a spirit of lawlessness has been evoked, threatening Cuba, Mexico, and indeed the whole tropical portion of America. It is to Americanize—You are drawing very large inferences from very small premises. What you say is true only in appearance, and upon the surface. Slavery is not a corrupted institution; it is to be reformed only as a necessity. It exists, and what shall we do with it? No one has yet given a solution of this fact, or suggested a practical answer to this question. I repeat, it is

rated, nor cherished. We all hope it will be removed from the country within a reasonable time. Wine Merchant.—Here again, according to my point of view, you are stating, unconsciously of course, a series of inexactitudes. As a matter of rigid logic, I could undertake to prove every assertion you make as untrue, and every inference you draw as fallacious. Every is not merely tolerated in the United States, is cherished; you neither hope nor believe in its abolition. I read, not long ago, a letter written by the American Minister at Stockholm, (Mr. Bedinger), which he said was written by a certain Frenchman, who

which he positively declares that the opinion is fast becoming general in the United States, that slavery is not only compatible with Christianity, liberty, and the rights of man, as understood in the United States, but it is essential to their full development. I see this view maintained throughout the entire South, and the conduct of your Government and of your politicians is in harmony with it.

Such was the substance of the dialogue, and though I do not mean to vindicate the statements or the logic of the *Wine Merchant*, yet I cannot but regret that

ated truly the tendency of popular opinion in Europe, and especially in France, as to the position of the United States in regard to slavery. If there is one thing in which Europe is agreed, it is that negro-slavery is an abomination before God and man. On your side of the water, where you are familiar with the views of slaveholders, you can hardly conceive of the horror with which their doctrines are regarded. To deny that the African is in all things a man, is not only against Quakerism, as the greatest of fanaticalists, but is against what is universal.

ty. Democracy, here, especially, calls all men brethren. One of the first acts of the late Provisional government of France was to abolish slavery, and it was done in condescension to public opinion. There are 200 pupils of negro blood in the College of Paris. Dumas, one of the most gifted men of the time is part negro. You constantly see negroes of various degrees of mixture, in society. Now for us to say to the people of France that these are not men, or that if they are, they are an inferior race, and hence we may explore them as we wish, is

the French popular mind as it would be to say that Hindoo, a Jew or a Turk is not a man, and hence may be enslaved. This doctrine of the slaveholder seems here to involve the doctrine that might is right; other words, it completely destroys the foundations of all morality. The great precept—Do unto others you would have others do to you—is completely overturned by it. If the new doctrine is true, then our Declaration of Independence is a fallacy, Democracy and Christianity a fable.

the attitude we seem to be assuming. If things progress thus, we shall not long challenge the sympathy of the people of Europe as friends of liberty, friends of the oppressed; nay, rather the popular sentiment will rise in indignation against us, as a nation of oppressors, who add to tyranny the hypocritical pretence of democracy. The signs of these coming events are already visible. A few days since an American lady in Paris scolded her French cook. Said the servant bitterly, "Do you think I am a negro?" An American going to a railroad station, spoke

reply to the man who carried his trunk. The reply as, "Do you take me for a slave?" Now I am not telling things that are apocryphal—things that can be set aside by a sneer, or annihilated by a boast. I grasp in one view a map of things, notoriously true. And the general inference is obvious. We have already lost, or are fast losing, that moribund prestige that once belonged to our name. The opinion is getting to be general, among rulers and people, that we are an unscrupulous and an unprincipled nation, which it is impossible to love, and im-

able not to fear or hate. Our prosperity only gravitates this general tendency to aversion. Now a man or a nation, armed in conscious truth, honor, and integrity, may set fear at defiance. But we Americans afford to outrage the moral sense of Europe—the moral sense of its Governments and its people:

Americans believe that the masses of Europe are our friends? If my views be correct, they are fast becoming our enemies. What will soon be our situation, especially if we engage in some offensive act of

pression, like the seizure of Cuba? In that case, how shall we face France and England, armed as they are likely to be with the material power of Europe and seconded by the felings of both Governments and people throughout this quarter of the globe? Even if we do not shrink from such consequences, through any apprehension of political evils, of so direct and serious a nature, are there not still other weighty reasons why we should endeavour to maintain a good name before the world? To a certain degree, to a very great degree indeed, the United States are charged with the duty of maintaining the peace of the world.

the duty of maintaining Republican institutions, and commanding them to the good will of other nations. This is a high mission, and one which we often claim with little exultation. How are we fulfilling this mission, in making ourselves an object of dislike, ridicule and fear, to high and low, rich and poor? How the present Democratic Government of the United States discharging the duty of strengthening the hearts and hands of the friends of liberty in Europe? By its subservience to slavery, its degrading and disgraceful foreign appointments, its dastardly outrages upon defenceless towns, its treatment of our own slaves, of whom

All these things are charged by more than one party home up in the present administration. True or false, they are believed here, and the monetary finger of the Conservative is lifted with the universal

mark, "I told you so! Such is the inevitable tendency of republicanism!" And where are the republicans here that have the courage or power to rise and gainsay such language? Let it be remembered that even the democratic *Presse* of Paris has almost abandoned us of late, and that the republican *Nucle* does not pretend to defend many of our acts. To such point we have actually sunk in public and even republican opinion.

If these are not sufficient arguments to rouse the people of the United States to a sense of the position

things, and of the necessity for a change, let me suggest that love of country itself depends to a certain degree upon our good name. It is with nations as with individuals, a good name is the greatest of treasures; without it both one and the other are poor indeed. Material strength cannot exist without moral support. The force of a giant is spent when the heart fails. We have fertile lands, full granaries, and glittering mines. Above all we have the vigour of youth, and are masters of a new world. How high, how fair is our seeming destiny; and yet, if wrong be with us and right

against us, we shall be weak from the want of moral support, within and without. Let us go on as we have lately done, let us follow to the end the downward path in which our present rulers are conducting us, and we are lost, as well from the debasements of our institutions, as from the general reprobation of mankind.

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ARCTIC COURTS-MARTIAL.

(From the United Service Gazette.)

The several Courts-martial on the captains recently in command of the ships abandoned in the Arctic regions having now terminated, we proceed to make some brief comments upon the trials, if the investigation in question can be so called, of Captains Kellett, McClure, and Commander Richards, were mere matters of form. Those officers acted in obedience to orders and had no option; their full acquittal consequently resulted.

The charge against Sir Edward Belcher, however, assumed a more serious aspect, and although that officer very naturally sheltered himself under instructions received from the Admiralty, and thereby obtained official condonation, there is some ground for private dissatisfaction with respect to the course he adopted. The Investigator was in so remote a position, and her crew had been so long suffering from inclement seasons and numerous privations, that the necessity for her abandonment must have been apparent to all—even to her energetic captain. The Assistance, Interp, and Pioneer, were also in positions which rendered their extrication impossible at least for another year; but the Resolute was in the fair way of getting out in the course of the summer. The orders so peremptorily conveyed to Captain Kellett must, therefore, appear to every reader of the evidence an act little short of wanton. Without consulting, and in perfect disregard of the known opinions of Captain Kellett, his determination; and against his dictum, there was no appeal. The Resolute was consequently abandoned on the 15th May, 1854.

Putting out of question the loss of the ships as a matter of little or no moment, more especially as Arctic voyages are now at an end, the fate of Captain Collinson demanded, we think, more consideration than it received. A short time after the receipt of Sir Edward Belcher's imperious edict last intelligence than any previously known reached Captain Kellett of the gallant Collinson Lieutenant Meacham, whose journey surpasses all other known Arctic feats, had gained this information, and its tenor was such as to impress the belief that the Enterprise was in the vicinity of Baring Island. There was at any rate a possibility that either the ship or her crew would endeavour to reach the Arctic rendezvous of Melville Island; and in that case the presence of the Resolute, with her gallant crew on board, would have been received by them as a Godsend. But this weighty consideration was insufficient to induce Sir Edward to reverse his previous decision, and Captain Collinson, as well as the Resolute, was abandoned to his fate. The Hudson's Bay Company's agents will, as a matter of course, afford shelter and assistance should the Enterprise have been abandoned or wrecked on the American coast; but should she, unhappily, have been carried off the land into the pack, their best if not only hope of rescue has now been withdrawn. It must be admitted, however, on the other hand, that a most onerous duty devolved upon Sir Edward Belcher, and Arctic expeditions have been so frequent and so barren of good results that an imperative necessity presented itself to the Admiralty to put a stop to them. One expedition has been sent to look after another in endless succession. One last man must be found or looked for at the risk of hundreds of lives, and there seemed no prospect of a termination. Sir Edward Belcher, whose skill and enterprising disposition was never for a moment doubted, was therefore entrusted with the finishing stroke; and he has, though with much seeming precipitation, accomplished the work he was sent to perform. Captain Kellett, with no less zeal, and not a whit less discrimination, was desirous of prolonging the search, and of succouring, if possible, his missing friend Collinson. Time may prove whose judgment was the soundest. If Collinson should reach the Hudson's Bay Company's settlements, it will prove that Sir Edward Belcher was in the right; but should he hear no more of him, there will not be wanting those to attribute his loss in a culpable degree to the officer who ordered the Resolute and her tender to be abandoned. In the mean while it is a subject of earnest congratulation that the whole of the Arctic voyagers—poor Collinson and his crew excepted—are once more in England. The Arctic bubble, speculations in which have cost the country more than a million of money, and the lives of 180 noble fellows, has exploded; and the costly hobby of the late Sir John Barrow has received the coup de grace.

THE LATE ARCTIC EXPEDITION.

A GENERAL COURT-MARTIAL assembled on Tuesday morning, October 17th, at 10 o'clock, on board the *Vetero flag ship, Vice Admiral the Honorable W. Gordon, R.N.*, to try Captain Kellett, late commander of the ship *Resolute*, for the abandonment of the ship and crew in the Arctic Sea. The Court consisted of Vice Admiral the Honorable W. Gordon (President), Sir Thomas Pauley (Prince Albert), Captain Keith Stewart (Nelson), Captain George H. Seymour (Cambridge), Captain Stansfield (Dorset), Captain Tucker (Wellington), and Commodore Wyvill (Formidable).

A letter was put in from Sir Edward Belcher to Captain Kellett, of the Resolute, inquiring of him whether he considered the crew under his charge could safely stand the winter of another year.

Lieutenant Richards, a medical report, taken by order of Captain Kellett, as to the state of the crew.

Joseph Paine, clerk of the Investigator, was sworn.

The President—Are you acquainted with the handwriting of Captain McClure, Dr. Armstrong, and Mr. Saunders?

Witness—Not Mr. Saunders, but of Captain McClure and Dr. Armstrong.

Mr. Richards, clerk of the Resolute, was sworn, and bore testimony to the signature of Dr. Donville to the medical report.

The Deputy Judge Advocate then read a tabulated statement of the health of the men, among whom a vast number were reported as afflicted with scurvy, dysentery, and debility.

The President (to Captain McClure)—What length of time was the ship in the ice? Captain McClure—About three years. What were your orders from Captain Collinson?—To make the best way to Melville Island. Those instructions are contained in a blue-book. On what day did you abandon your ship?—On the 15th of May, 1854. From the time of arrival at the Bay of Mercy the ship was in the ice the whole time, except about six weeks, when the ice began to slack a little. During the time the Investigator was in Barrow's Strait, did the ice offer any appearance of the state of the ship, if the crew had been in good health?—Yes, perfectly; the ship was in as efficient a state as it could be. The Court was ordered to be adjourned, and remained closed for upwards of an hour.

On re-assembly, the Deputy Judge Advocate read the statement of the ship, which stated that the crew had heard the statement of Captain McClure and the Officer of the ship Investigator, it was of opinion that no blame had been attached to Captain McClure for the loss of the ship, and that his conduct and that of the crew had been highly meritorious. The Court fully acquitted him and the Officers of the ship, as they practised.

The President, in presenting Captain McClure with his sword, highly complimented him on the meritorious services he had performed.

The Court was again cleared, and after a short time

was re-opened for the purpose of trying Captain Kellett and the Officers of her Majesty's ship *Resolute*, for the abandonment of the ship in the Arctic Sea.

The Deputy Judge Advocate (to Captain Kellett)—Have you any statement to make? Captain Kellett—I acted under orders from Sir E. Belcher in abandoning the ship, not losing it. Do you produce those orders? I hold a confidential communication in my hand from Sir E. Belcher, and I wish to ask the Court if it is to be placed before it? The President—Has it anything to do with the abandonment of the ship?—Yes, as to the abandonment.

The Court was again ordered to be cleared. On its being re-opened.

The Deputy Judge Advocate said the Court had decided that the letters should be read.

Mr. Lewis, clerk to the Assistance, produced copies of letters dated February 1, 1854, and 12th April, 1854, which he stated were also put in from Captain Kellett to Sir Edward Belcher.

The first letter read (of which we were not allowed to take a copy) was from Sir Edward Belcher, dated from Cape Osborne, February 1, 1854, in which he stated that the time had arrived when he could no longer consult his own feelings or judgment, and in anticipation of orders that would arrive in July, he considered the ship and crew could not be detained beyond August following. He further ordered that the crew and officers of the Resolute should meet him at Beechey Island on the 22nd of August.

Another letter, dated 12th April, 1854, from Sir E. Belcher, was read respecting the instructions of the former communication.

A letter dated April, 1854, from Captain Kellett to Sir E. Belcher, was read, in which he expressed his opinion that nothing but a positive order would justify him in taking such a course, and had sufficient provisions on board to serve him until the end of the year 1855.

Another letter was then read from Sir Edward Belcher to Sir E. Belcher, in which he stated that he was in a perfect state of health, and was in a position to proceed to Beechey Island that summer. I served in the preceding expedition under Sir James Ross and Captain Austin.

The Interpreter then read the following letter from Captain Kellett to Sir E. Belcher, dated 12th April, 1854, in which he stated that he was in a perfect state of health, and was in a position to proceed to Beechey Island that summer. I served in the preceding expedition under Sir James Ross and Captain Austin.

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Mr. W. H. Richards, clerk in charge of Resolute, stated that he was in a position to proceed to Beechey Island that summer. I served in the preceding expedition under Sir James Ross and Captain Austin.

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